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FALL EDUCATION ISSUE

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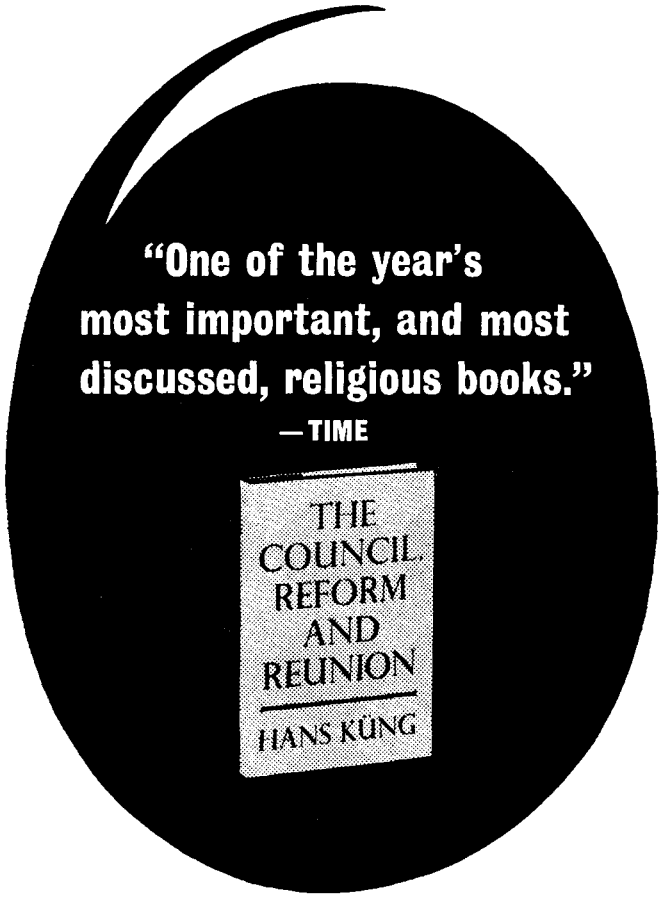

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Dollars, Cents and Intangibles

IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, no less than in private, it is often exceedingly difficult to carry through a program whose benefits are long-range and largely intangible. Recent misgivings about foreign aid, pointed up by the House of Representative's action last week, testify to the peculiar force this difficulty exercises on the American political conscience.

During the past fifteen years the United States has appropriated nearly one hundred billion dollars for foreign aid on the theory, (a) that such aid to underdeveloped nations is the surest preventive for the advance of world Communism, and (b) that such aid to satellite countries like Yugoslavia and Poland supports the social reforms that represent increasing independence from Soviet power and ideology. The results of this program so far have indeed been intangible, and it remains a long-range effort, difficult to assess at best. Yet how could it be otherwise? As usual, the end of the Congressional session has seen a last-ditch effort by skeptics of the foreign aid program to throttle it, provoking an equally determined drive on the part of the Administration to bolster it.

In action to date, the House, prodded by Representative Otto E. Passman, Democrat, of Louisiana, has voted a record cut of one and one-quarter billion dollars in the President's foreign aid appropriations bill. The President has in turn accused the House of "irresponsible" action and of "endangering the national security." At this point it is unlikely that the full amount recommended will be restored, despite the expected generosity of the Senate. Is the Bill, then, as it stands, to be regarded as a blow to free-world security, or as a stimulus to much-needed reform in our foreign aid program? Other recent actions of both the Congress and the President, not to say of the world community, make it peculiarly difficult to weigh these alternatives.

Without wanting or needing to espouse the extreme self-interest sentiments of Representative Passman, it does seem to be the case that the United States has so far assumed a disproportionate share of the burden of aid to underdeveloped nations. That the President himself is sensitive to this is plain from his remarks recently to the assembly of the International Monetary Fund in Washington. On that occasion the President served notice to the free world that the United States expects its members to assume their share of development aid.

YET IF THE foreign aid program is open to reform along certain lines, surely the way to reform is not by such drastic slashes as the House has authorized. A mere glance at the itemized figures reveals a twelve per cent cut in funds allocated to the fledgling Alliance for Progress, hardly an incentive for the continuance of democratic reforms in politically explosive Latin America.

Most damaging of all, perhaps, is the reduction of nearly forty per cent in funds authorized for the development loan program. An Administration official branded this last as "a colossal breach of faith by the United States with the underdeveloped half of the free world." To this note of foreboding was added the irony of an announcement last week by the Soviet Union of cuts to less than half of their last year's total in aid to underdeveloped countries.

If the actual cutback in foreign aid funds is deplorable, the legislative "riders" accompanying that measure ought to be intolerable. For here the House, in direct contradiction of last July's action, removed from the President the power to allocate funds to Poland and Yugoslavia when he judges they would benefit the process of social reforms in those countries. The House, moreover, refused such funds when they would benefit any country "whose government is based upon that theory of government known as Communism." It also approved a measure forbidding aid to any nation doing business with Castro's Cuba.

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These "riders" were added, it should be noted, in the same week with an announcement from Yugoslavia of the approval of a draft of a new constitution, providing for a premier and cabinet, against the day of Marshall Tito's demise. Actually the "riders" are against the House rules and will hopefully be thrown out in ensuing conferences with the Senate. Meanwhile, the House has had the strange distinction of being wrong for the wrong reasons, even though pointing up an inevitable change in the free world's administration of aid to emerging and satellite nations.

What's in a Name?

REGARDLESS of how the weather bureau views the matter, it is indubitably true that the cooler the air becomes in the fall the hotter becomes the political climate. This fall, of course, the great question is whether the President will be able to beat the traditional off-year jinx and increase his margin of support in Congress. But at the moment what interests us are the results of two recent primaries, and the changing tone of the California gubernatorial race.

At first, like many others, we were stunned by the margin of Edward M. Kennedy's victory in the Massachusetts primary over Edward J. McCormack. After all, we reasoned with our usual syllogistic precision, Mr. Kennedy is not very old at age thirty, could not claim much in the way of experience, was running against a man who had an excellent record as Attorney General in the state, and had, finally, the resentment against family dynasties to contend with. At most, then, the race should have been close. But Mr. Kennedy won by a better than two to one margin. So much for syllogistic logic. More to the point, we should have taken seriously Jules Feiffer's cartoon parable on the race. The moral of the parable was that "No matter who you are it's nice to have everything." Q.E.D.

After serving as one of the editors of The Commonweal for more than five years, Richard Horchler left this week to join the staff of Cowles Magazines. He takes with him our thanks and best wishes in his new work.

Added to the staff of The Commonweal this week is Walter Arnold, Jr. Educated at Harvard, where he was co-founder and first editor of the Catholic Club publication "Current," and at Columbia, where he was chairman of the Graduate Newman Club, Mr. Arnold has made several contributions to these pages in recent years. We are pleased to welcome him to the staff.

But is this moral generally true? Well, if one looks at the prospects for the New York gubernatorial race, it is not likely to be refuted there. In nominating Mr. Robert M. Morgenthau to oppose Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller for governor, the Democrats clearly had in mind the value of a well-known family name. However, the name of Morgenthau is hardly likely to glitter in the public eye the way the name Rockefeller does. If the New York Democratic ticket, which can boast a Jew, a Catholic and a Negro, would seem to have everything, the Rockefeller-headed ticket is likely to have a good majority of the votes.

Out in California, however, things are not so simple. To be sure, Richard M. Nixon has the advantage of being a national figure and the facile capacity to switch face-masks as the occasion may demand. But he is also contending against Edmund G. Brown, who, if he has shown no special talent for political magic, has shown that he can get votes. Yet Mr. Nixon is not without resources. Although he has graciously said of Mr. Brown that, "I don't question his motives and basic loyalties," he has attacked as ineffectual the Governor's antisubversion program. For good measure, he has also called attention to the "chiselers by the hundreds" on the state's relief roles. The moral: if you don't have everything you'd better find an issue.

Retraining Workers

THE EFFECT of continuing mass unemployment on the lag in our national economy is twofold. Not only does the greatly reduced purchasing power of four million idled workers and their families decrease the demand for American goods and services, but lack of required skills actually makes for labor shortages at certain strategic points where new technology could give a boost to national productivity. Both the needs of industry and the failure of displaced unskilled workers to obtain new jobs point to the urgency for retraining.

One of the difficulties is the educational limitations of many displaced unskilled workers. A recent study completed in Chicago among relief recipients has disclosed that half of them were "functionally illiterate," or unable to pass fifth-grade reading and vocabulary tests. The experienced director of the study believes the results typical of other American cities. If so, the first thing needed is a program of preliminary classes to provide the necessary reading and writing skills. Here is an area where the cooperation of local management, labor unions, municipal government and school system would be most fruitful.

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On the national terrain a small retraining program is under way at present. There are some twelve thousand learning new skills under the Area Redevelopment Program. Congress has just appropriated seventy millions to provide retraining for fifty to seventy thousand more unemployed in the year ahead. Such figures need to be measured against the national unemployment total of four million and the six hundred thousand of that total unable to find gainful employment for over six months. The current national retraining program can supply invaluable data as a pilot project but it obviously falls far short of what is needed.

However, the difficulties arising from technological displacement and protracted unemployment on a large scale will yield only to an attack that is many-sided. It is not simply a question of increasing government expenditures to prime the pump, or even of appropriating adequate sums for a nation-wide retraining program. One focus will assuredly have to be on well-plotted projections of the technical skills that will be in demand in the near future. Here the companies themselves, with their drawing boards and first-hand experience in retraining their own employees for more advanced positions, have much to contribute—likewise unions with their increasingly proficient technical staffs.

Further, as Bishop Wright of Pittsburgh suggested on the September 23 "Look Up and Live" T.V. program, the American university has much to contribute to the solution of community social and economic problems. The conducting of expert local surveys, the holding of seminars in which community leaders participate, the offering of special courses and scholarships, are among the public services of which they are capable. This country's institutions of higher learning have plenty of their own problems, but technological unemployment has placed them in strategic positions to take greater responsibilities in their own communities.

Now Hear This

OF ALL THE requests directed to the forthcoming Second Vatican Council, few have intrigued us so much as the recent petition of a Swiss woman lawyer, Dr. Gertrud Heinzelmann. Dr. Heinzelmann minces no words. As she describes it, the petition is a "complaint and at the same time indictment from half the human race—the feminine sex." Above all, what she wants is a completely new look at the position of women in the Church. Specifically, she calls for a consideration of the rights of women to be ordained to the priesthood. "Women's exclusion from the priesthood," she writes, "and the denial to her of the right to preach, amount to a restraint applied against her by the Church to make use of her natural spiritual faculties in public as well as in private."

Where does The Commonweal stand on Dr. Heinzelmann's plea? Well, as the politicians say, we're glad you asked that question. But if the truth be known, we have decided to plead the Fifth Amendment. Anything we would say would surely incriminate us. If we enthusiastically support Dr. Heinzelmann, the theologians (male) are bound to give us trouble. If we dismiss her plea, our wives and female readers will make life miserable. Forced to choose between Rome and home, we will be wiser not to choose at all. However, lest our readers lose faith in our courage, we plan to speak out openly on the eve of either the Third or Fourth Vatican Council.

Marcel at Harvard

ONE OF THE most distinguished philosophers in Europe, an accomplished playwright and drama critic, Gabriel Marcel was a visitor to America last year. He came to Harvard to give the William James Lectures, and concomitantly to speak at some sixteen other places in less than two months. M. Marcel spent himself in America, consciously, generously, and with humor. He is aging now and not so hale. Those of us who saw him closely sometimes feared for his health. He went as far away as California; another time, to Texas; to Pennsylvania, and New York, and elsewhere. He spoke in English or in French, to large groups and to seminars. He came back to Harvard obviously fatigued, for he did not sleep well in the planes. He tried to keep up with mounting correspondence, tried not to turn down too many requests for his time.

On Wednesdays, M. Marcel delivered the William James Lectures at Sanders Theater, and while the theater was never full, the crowds continued sufficiently large, as the leaves fell in the Yard and bitter November winds replaced Indian summer, that the lectures remained there. On Tuesdays, Marcel came to the philosophy seminar room in Emerson Hall to take up with interested students the theme of his lectures: "The Existentialist Background of Human Dignity." Marcel's way of doing philosophy is very different from that of the Harvard department, and it was an admirable but typical move on Harvard's part to invite him. The differ-

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ence, for example, showed up in the fact that those who took part in Marcel's seminar were from the Divinity School, or undergraduates, or visitors, but not from among the graduate students in philosophy. Late in the seminar, however, some lively discussions ensued when two or three members of the philosophy faculty attended.

There is a story which gives a penetrating insight into the mind of Gabriel Marcel, and which is at the root of what he had to say at Harvard. Until her death, the story goes, M. Marcel's wife delighted in seeing to the preparation of his typescripts; she kept his papers in order, and saw to it that the needed lecture was in his briefcase as he prepared to leave. But one day as he sped on a train to an important lecture, Marcel discovered that his wife had put the wrong typescript in his briefcase. His first thought was of her, and he told his companion: "I'm so glad she isn't here; she would feel so badly."

It is obvious in reading Marcel's work and in meeting the man himself that for him persons are the most important "facts" in the universe. His first thought is habitually of persons; later he thinks of things. Rather than insert himself into the scientific viewpoint, according to the positivist's program, Marcel insists on keeping himself outside the scientific viewpoint and superior to it. A person, he says, cannot be exhausted by a list of objective descriptions; a person cannot be summed in a series of file cards. He told in the James lectures how his experiences with the Red Cross information service in 1914 taught him the difference between descriptions and persons. Meeting with men and with families whose lives he had first met on cards shocked him into awareness. For Marcel, philosophy begins with wonder; but the wonder primarily concerns the mystery of persons and of person-to-person communication.

Marcel spoke at Harvard of other experiences in his life which step by step led him in formulating his "concrete philosophy." He spoke of his family, his early idealist phase, and the rest. When he spoke simply and frankly before this Harvard audience of his conversion to Catholicism, the effect, for some of us, was like that of witnessing the inauguration of President Kennedy: in spite of ourselves, and to our own surprise, a joy and release. Marcel conveyed the directness of the European Catholic, and awakened echoes of a long, solid tradition. In the light of Marcel's own history, the scientific atmosphere of Harvard seemed suddenly inadequate, and the concrete intellectual histories of the individual men in the departments seemed as significant as their "objective conclusions." The timidity and inhibitions of American religious men seemed especially irksome.

M. MARCEL won great affection and esteem at Harvard. Now in his seventies, Marcel is short in stature; he must once have been robust. His unruly white hair or, outdoors, his battered felt hat, made him seem somehow innocent and approachable. In the lapel of his blue suit, he wore the red of the Legion of Honor. The first night I met him, at a cocktail party just after his arrival, he sat near the doorway of the room, surrounded by a small circle of graduate students and faculty wives. He held his hands in front of him on his strong black cane; his eyes blinked and lines creased his face as he concentrated. His smiles radiated a relaxation and warmth that made brightness come from his face. He listened closely, and always as he answered it was the man speaking; it was not the position, not the pose.

When I joined the group and, in a lull some time later, asked him a question about Claudel, his eyes flashed. He replied that for him Claudel was one of the two or three great figures in French letters of this century, perhaps the greatest. He talked then of Péguy, and Bloy, and Camus, and Gide, and Maritain, and Bernanos—whose *Diary of a Country Priest* Marcel himself had discovered and championed, while a reader at a publishing house.

Afterwards, he took me to dinner, to speak more of that wonderful age for Catholicism in France. Then we walked slowly back across the dark Yard to his room. He stopped often, turning his back against the strong October breeze and the leaves it was already carrying. He held his green felt hat. His leg, the one injured in an auto crash some eight years ago, pained him from time to time, he confided, and made him rest. At his suite in Grays Hall, even before taking off his coat, M. Marcel limped to his bedroom to bring me a packet of pictures of his grandchildren, about whom he had just been talking with much pride and affection.

Using a thick rectangular magnifier to help his right eye, he sat deep in an easy chair to read *The Funeral Pyre* to me. It is a favorite among his plays, and in spite of eyes watering from the effort, he read it intensely and dramatically to the end. Finished, he blinked up at me from under the circle of light from his lamp. He sat in silence for a while, much moved by the shattering revelation of a lived lie.

As I rose to leave, we shook hands. "Tonight," he said, "I think we have had encounter. I think so. Don't you?" The words touched deeply because they voiced our thoughts. *"Voilà,"* he said. It was pointedly instructive, on a first shy meeting with a great philosopher, to begin not with his words but with the experience the words are about. Thereafter, to learn his thought would be to follow out the analysis of such experience, to render it in words. But meeting is rich so that, at first, one is without desire for words.

I was not among those who spoke most with M. Marcel, or did most for him: chauffeuring him, taking him to dinner, introducing him to this group or that for an evening, joining him for the concerts or recitals

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he relishes so much. But I did have dinner with him three or four times, accompanied him to Mass, dropped by his room, attended with him a dramatic reading of *The Florestan Dimension.* Marcel was pleased with the new translation, and regaled the audience in the tiny Poet's Theater with a laughing, salty admission of the fun he was poking at Heidegger: "The Peach peaches." He was also surprised and pleased at the production of *The Funeral Pyre* staged at Newton College of the Sacred Heart, for he had not expected that people so young could grasp the mature emotions on which the play turns.

Marcel spoke often of music, and it is obvious that it is one of the greatest influences on his intellectual life. He believes that music is a form of knowledge; the fact that it communicates wordlessly is to him supremely noteworthy for philosophy. In the James lectures, Marcel spoke frequently of music and of silence; and a crucial part of his argument turned on their role in human life. No doubt, to philosophers of the hard school, such considerations seem elusive, emotive, or poetic; but, then, Marcel is not trying to fit himself within their systems, he is trying to attend to the facts.

STILL, the great difficulty in contemporary philosophy which Marcel's visit to Harvard dramatized was the disparity of purposes, methods, and world-view between Anglo-American analysts and Continental existentialists. How can it be that (roughly speaking) there are two discrete bodies of philosophers, whose interest is in interpreting the world in which we live, and yet who can scarcely communicate with one another? Shall we say that there is only one philosophy, one "objective" discipline which all philosophers everywhere can join in doing as the scientists join in doing science: the analysis of language, positivism, pragmatism? That is to say that the existentialists are basically poets, or perhaps rhetoricians. Shall we say that the difference is geographical and social, since the English and American temper is penultimate: concerned with surfaces, with techniques, with the solution of problems, but less so with human life and its mysteries? That is to deny the category of the "objective" its putative priority, and even in philosophy to examine first the concrete life history of the philosopher.

Like one analyst, Wittgenstein, Marcel takes pleasure in the distinction between being a philosopher and being a professor, and is grateful that his own family means have always enabled him to be independent for his literary and philosophical career. He values his plays highly as ways of entry into his philosophy, for it is in the plays that the complexity of concrete experience is re-created. He has an interest in the problem of birth control, and his play *Croissez et Multipliez* is a severe indictment of the spirituality that makes sex so otherworldly that the wife thinks of herself as a "baby machine." In *Du Refus à L'Invocation,* soon to appear in English, Marcel has chapters on tolerance and ecumenicism, now perhaps no longer fresh but in their day upon the frontiers. In his writing and in conversations Marcel is quite anti-Scholastic; but one often has to be in order to remain within the *philosophia perennis,* and (though I am not sure he will like this observation) at many points his work may be viewed as uncovering the root experiences from which that tradition gets its exhaustless strength.

About American Catholicism, Marcel said at M.I.T. that Catholics in America don't seem to him like Catholics: they seem like a sect. "Catholic," he repeated, means universal. He was severely distressed by the situation of the Negro in the United States—on trains, in restaurants, in hotels. He had not realized it was so bad. In Hitler's Germany, he said, one could expect inequalities; in America the scandal is overwhelming. He could not imagine living at peace with himself in America while that battle remained unwon.

Marcel's stay at Harvard was quiet. There were no great crowds, not much fanfare, not even great intellectual stir. A few more students began to read his books; an impetus was given to the translation and production of his plays; several hundred at Harvard and hundreds more on other campuses heard his voice and experienced his manner. The great role of universities, as Newman saw, is for persons to meet persons; one can read books in private anywhere. Marcel's mature thought has been grappling with why persons are like that, and what the extra knowledge is that words on paper won't convey.

Marcel's James lectures, while sounding to auditors looser and less pointed than his best work (a reading may alter that judgment), addressed the crowning question of our century: Why do we say that man has dignity? on what intellectual grounds? In the unfailing moments of genius in the lectures, Marcel pushed us closer to an answer. Human dignity springs from the inexhaustibility of the human person, outrunning scientific descriptions and human verbalization; our scientific apparatus plods along behind, machine-like, working out the technics, like the useful drudge it is.

Fundamentally, however, Marcel's answer does not lie in a book of lectures; it lies in concrete living. The greatest argument in favor of Marcel's purposes, methods, and world-view is that, though arduous, they can be lived—in love, in personal relations, in scientific or technical work—at no diminution to our aspirations. Marcel is among those teachers of men in whom we do not have to distinguish, *salva* human fallibility, what they say and what they do. He is a rich teacher. He is a great man to have had with us in America, even for so short a time.

MICHAEL NOVAK

(Mr. Novak, a regular contributor, is a member of the faculty at Harvard.)

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A Matter of Education

THE DIFFERENCES and conflicts between Catholic and public school education have been magnified out of proportion. So, at least, claimed the president of the Ohio Board of Education in a recent speech to Catholic teachers and school administrators. Those interested in the education of America's children, he said, should emphasize the great areas of "common beliefs, common problems and common goals."

My own education, from first grade through graduate school, was received under Catholic auspices, so I cannot testify in this matter from personal experience in the public schools. But it seems just common sense that what the Ohio educator said is true, and that this fact should be emphasized more often.

On the Catholic side of the fence, more and more responsible leaders stress that we too should be concerned with the public schools. The day when Catholics tended to think that public schools were someone else's problem is disappearing, I think, if somewhat slowly in some areas. Indeed, it is hard to see how it could be otherwise; not only is the connection between education and the common good obvious, but something like half the Catholic children of grammar school age attend the public schools. Not only civic concern but self-interest demands that we take an interest in the welfare of public education.

Admittedly, there are some Catholics who have yet to be persuaded of this. To them the needs of the parochial schools are all-consuming; they have little energy left over for worry about the success of the local school district's bond issue. But the number of those in this category is decreasing fast, and I suspect it will be easier to persuade them that the public schools are a matter of proper concern than it will be to persuade many other Americans of the nation's stake in the kind of education the religious schools, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, can give.

This is a real problem. America's common schools were originally religious, but over the years the tax-supported public school has become the main educational force on the pre-college level. Over the years the religious school came to be looked on as somewhat outside the mainstream of American education, and we are now paying the price.

To me, as a Catholic, the nation's stake in the kind of education given in religious schools is obvious. Parochial schools dot the land, and this fall more than five million American children trooped to classes in Catholic elementary schools. If they receive a faulty or inadequate education, the nation will clearly be the poorer for that fact.

But if this point seems obvious to Catholics, it would be a mistake to think that all our non-Catholic neighbors see the matter the same way. Clearly they do not; many quite frankly regard it as the problem of the Catholic parent and of no one else. Changing this mentality will take some doing. Indeed, with some the task is just about impossible, humanly speaking; centuries of suspicion and misunderstanding of the Church are not easily overcome. But it would also be a mistake for us to imagine that all our neighbors who are not Catholic fall into this category, and it is to them that we must direct our attention.

The worst thing we could do, in my opinion, would be to become obsessive about the school aid question. The question is now "in politics" with a vengeance, and it is inevitable that many Catholics will take the issue into account in evaluating candidates for the Congress. But this is a delicate business, and Catholics should keep their sense of proportion about it.

In evaluating a candidate, Catholics should be interested in how he stands on a whole range of topics, from nuclear warfare and international social justice to race relations and the problem of depressed areas. How a man stands on federal aid and—even more important—why he takes the position he does are important questions, but the issue is still only one of many. I therefore disagree strongly with those Catholics who seem to be judging Congressional candidates almost entirely on this point alone.

On the positive side, one of the best things that has happened in the last year or so, it seems to me, has been the increase in openness on the part of Catholic schools. Realizing that Catholic schools were complete mysteries to most Americans, many dioceses have instituted annual "Open House" days during which all citizens are invited to visit the Catholic schools. Some dioceses have now carried this a step further by including in the program welfare as well as educational institutions. The result has been that thousands of non-Catholics have visited a parochial school or Catholic orphanage or hospital for the first time in their entire lives.

This is the kind of thing I am convinced we must extend and carry on. But this spirit of openness should be matched, I am equally convinced, in our internal affairs. Some years ago the late Cardinal Stritch of Chicago directed that every parish form an active parent-teacher association which would play a genuine role in school affairs. I would strongly favor such efforts, if there were no federal aid controversy; given the present situation, they are essential if Catholic concern for the rights of the parent in education is to be taken seriously.

JAMES O'GARA

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School Desegregation: Nine Lean Years

Wait Till Next Year

HOWARD N. MEYER

THOSE READERS who are old enough to remember the baseball era before Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers will recall the chant that sportswriters used to attribute to the local aficionados, as their team finished out of the running. "Wait till next year," was the cry, and even as it was uttered there was a mutual, unacknowledged understanding that next year would never come. During the days of my youth, it never did.

School desegregation seems to be as hopelessly stalled today as the Brooklyn baseball team ever was. For over two and a half million Negro children (those living in the states of the former Confederacy) it seems that "next year" will never come—unless there is a drastic change in the temper of our people, followed by a similar change in the conduct of our government.

We have just experienced the ninth September school-opening since the Supreme Court affirmed the principle that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional. Eight and a half years have passed since the Court ruled unanimously that "all provisions of federal, state, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle." What did the ninth September produce?

In reviewing the first week's developments, U.S. Attorney General Kennedy commented that this was "the second consecutive year in which every public school system being desegregated for the first time made this important transition without public disorder." But one needs only to study the statistics to see that very little occurred, except in New Orleans parochial schools, that would cause a segregationist to take the trouble to be disorderly. The plain, simple, and unvarnished truth is that the United States Constitution has been nullified in eleven states, with only a few exceptions, and "token" ones at that, in large urban centers.

On the seventh anniversary of the Court desegregation decision, United Press International described the period that had passed as the Seven Lean Years, and noted that the over-all gain in terms of Negro pupils in desegregated classes stood at a meager 6.3 per cent. The year and a half that have since elapsed give no promise that the lean years will be followed by seven fat ones. The so-called "regional" over-all average, as given by the admirably objective Southern Education Reporting Service, will probably remain under 8 per cent after this year's returns are in. Unfortunately, the regional average, bad as it is, analyzes out to a gross overstatement of what has been really achieved.

The 8 per cent figure is obtained by lumping together the so-called border states (which remained loyal during the Civil War) with Oklahoma and the District of Columbia, and tabulating with them the ex-Confederate states. If the latter are taken separately, as a group, the following picture emerges, using S.E.R.S. figures: of the more than 2,750,000 Negro children of school age in those eleven states, a gross total of 6735 were in school with white children by May of 1962. And if we exclude Texas, whose western region accounts for most of that state's 4000 contribution to the 6735, we have ten states with a total of almost two and one half million Negro school age children of whom under three thousand are in school with whites. Another tiny sprinkling was admitted this September. Whatever the final total, the essential picture will remain the same.

Another way of looking at it is from the point of view of the school board. There are 2265 such groups of local public officials in the eleven states in question, each sworn to uphold law and order, and, presumably, the U.S. Constitution. Only 214 of these school boards have taken any steps toward desegregation. It would seem that something must be lacking in our methods of securing compliance with law, if the results to date are so disheartening.

THERE WAS published last year a careful and useful study of the performance of the United States District Court judges in school desegregation cases in the Southern states. About the most serious error in the book is its title: *58 Lonely Men.* That would seem to convey the impression that it is a study of fifty-eight heroic judicial figures, standing firm as isolated bastions of Constitutional right. Not quite. While there have been, and continue to be notable exceptions—such as Skelly

HOWARD N. MEYER, a former special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, has just edited a reissue of Thomas Wentworth Higginson's Civil War classic, *Army Life in a Black Regiment.*

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Wright of New Orleans, who was promoted but, because of Senatorial resistance, to a post in Washington, D. C.—the average district court judge has not been a lonely pillar of justice in school segregation cases.

The author of *58 Lonely Men,* Professor J. W. Peltason of the University of Illinois, would be the first to agree that nothing could be further from the truth than this idealized picture. He has studied the more than two hundred lawsuits, launched over a seven-year period in the effort to compel obedience to the requirements of the Constitution at the Local School Board level. His conclusions: "by and large federal judges applied the law adversely to the claims of Negroes;" "the refusal of some of the district judges to clamp down on recalcitrant Boards has had a cumulatively adverse impact on the other judges;" "the Supreme Court has declared public school segregation unconstitutional, but many Southern federal district judges had permitted the evasion of the consequences of those decisions . . . the judges have approved programs that will keep most Negroes in segregated institutions until long beyond the time when even those now starting first grade will have graduated."

In his book Prof. Peltason tells us, with keen insight into the nature of the judicial process, just why that process cannot succeed in reforming the offending school systems. Some of the obstacles encountered were inevitable, built-in, as it were, in judicial procedure. Others, not so foreordained, nevertheless have been erected and made a rocky road well-nigh impassable.

There has been, for example, the fact that "the district judge is very much a part of the life of the South" (the author might have been more precise and said the "white South") and hence reluctant, even when seeking to apply the law as laid down by higher courts, to take action that will arouse hostility in the community of which he is a part. The effect is sometimes not easily pinpointed but there are so many ways in which, by delay in holding hearings, by upholding technical objections, by making the path of the suitor harder in one way or another, the judge can deny justice.

Unanticipated and grave difficulties were created by the March 1956 "manifesto" of the ninety-six Congressmen from the South, who promised their constituencies to use "all lawful means" to resist the enforcement of law. By dignifying the posture of defiance and contributing to the illusion that the Supreme Court's unanimous intrepretation might somehow be set aside, they gave the segregationists a major breakthrough. School boards took due notice, and the judges in the federal courts were faced with an additional inhibition and a further source of actively hostile community sentiment.

Shortly after the Little Rock episode, as we need to be reminded, the rumor spread in Washington that President Eisenhower had said privately that he wished the Supreme Court had never ruled against segregation and had also said that he felt the Southern communities should proceed "more slowly." Confronted at a press conference with this rumor, the President declared in his deathless prose: "I might have said something about 'slower,' but I do believe that we should—because I do say, as I did yesterday or last week, we have got to have reason and sense and education, and a lot of other developments that go hand in hand as this process—if this process is going to have any real acceptance in the United States." The President's statement was hardly calculated to encourage a lonely federal judge to stand up to the segregationists.

A reflection of such difficulties can be seen in the retreat of the courts when faced with the "pupil placement" or "pupil assignment" laws, devised in some of the resisting states to create additional obstacles to those who would take steps to vindicate their children's constitutional rights in court. These are probably the greatest, and most enduring, of all the obstacles to school desegregation erected during the seven lean years just past, and it is a fair statement that until they are broken down, the device of "token" desegregation will stall further progress.

Some twenty years ago an eminent sociologist, an associate of Gunnar Myrdal, wrote that "the American South is the only place in the world today where one can get a reputation for being a liberal simply by urging obedience to law, and where conservatives regularly violate the law." True as this statement remains today, it needs to be elaborated by the addition of another aspect: one can get a reputation as a "moderate" by urging the community to pretend to obey the law by token compliance.

WHAT of the future? The Kennedy Administration, which has in many ways lived up to its campaign pledges to act against discrimination on every front, has not changed significantly the course of events spotlighted in *58 Lonely Men.* It was not long after his induction that the new Attorney General, speaking in Georgia, forthrightly declared that "if the orders of the court are circumvented, the Department of Justice will act. We will not stand by or be aloof. We will move." However, the civil rights crisis in the schools is not so much due to the circumvention of existing court orders as it is to the difficulty of securing meaningful court orders, and enough of them.

It took two hundred lawsuits, each one privately financed, to gain the admission of the handful of students who have entered a few schools. Not only must each lawsuit be privately financed, but in each case a family or group of families must come forward, separately in each school district, and face the threat of economic reprisals, or worse. Will we ever know the

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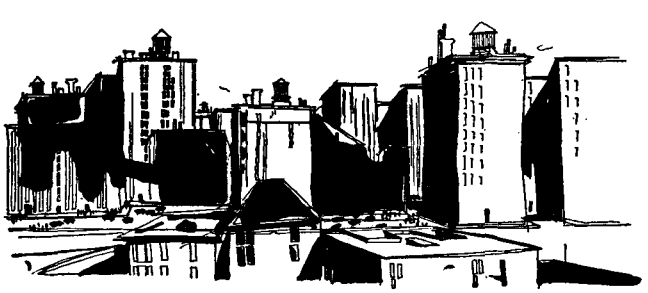
full story of what happened to the Negro families whose children at first entered and then withdrew from the parochial school at Buras? To have a profound and revolutionary readjustment of race relations in the schools depend on privately financed lawsuits, with volunteer plaintiffs, is utterly unsatisfactory. Except, as Professor Peltason points out, to the segregationists: "Negroes lack the political power to force school boards to integrate. Their only choice is to litigate and to persuade a judge to command the board to act. Segregationists do not fear this as long as the national government does not interfere."

There will, obviously, be no change in the school situation, until there is new legislation. There have been plenty of proposals, but the Kennedy Administration has not, as yet, seen fit to identify itself with any one of them, or put forward any of its own.

Presumably the Administration has refrained from asking for new legislation in respect to school desegregation either because of a fear of adverse effect on the balance of the legislative program, or because of lack of prospect of passage. Yet it is hard to see how the President's program could have fared much worse. As to lack of prospect of passage, it would seem that if the Administration were to have brought the facts to the people there might have been a reaction strong enough to get some sort of legislation: the Eisenhower Administration produced civil rights laws on the subject of voting that, while far from perfect or complete, have given Attorney General Kennedy and his civil rights chief, Burke Marshall, tools to move in on the grosser instances of disenfranchisement.

EARLY in the Kennedy Administration the Congress gave the President an unusual chance to eliminate roadblocks in civil rights litigation, but the opportunity was not seized upon. There had developed, in the last years of the Eisenhower Administration, a great need for additional federal judgeships throughout the United States, to meet the problem of overloaded dockets and court congestion. On May 4, 1961, the Omnibus Judgeship Bill was passed, creating seventy-three new federal court posts. Of these, twenty-nine vacancies were to be filled in states with recurrent civil rights problems.

Unfortunately, as Walter Dean Burnham recently wrote in these pages, "no President is strong enough to have his way against the entrenched custom of Senatorial courtesy." The practical significance of that powerful political tradition is that judges appointed by a Democratic President are really nominated by segregationist Senators. Consider, in this connection, the Number One appointment made by President Kennedy under the Omnibus Judgeship bill, that of William Harold Cox, an associate of Senator Eastland.



It seems, according to another of our national traditions, that when a Presidential appointee is acceptable to both of the Senators from the state where he resides, the rest of the Senate, liberal or conservative, follows a courtesy practice or "hands off" rule. When Mr. Cox was nominated to the federal bench for the District of Mississippi there was merely a pro forma hearing and no objection was raised to the nomination. (Compare the ordeal of Thurgood Marshall!)

Judge Cox—bellwether of the appointments under the Omnibus Bill—did not lose much time in making clear where he stood on the issues that would come before him. A federal civil rights statute of long standing has provided that a state criminal prosecution wherein civil rights are involved may be transferred to the local federal court, in order to assure protection of those rights. Counsel for a group of the Freedom Riders sought to so transfer their clients' cases. The move was rejected by Judge Cox. Decisions on such transfer ("removal") cases are nonappealable, so that we shall never know whether he was "right" or "wrong" in a technical sense. But in his decision, Judge Cox gave expression to self-revealing dicta and characterizations. The Riders, he declared judicially, came from other states "for provocative purposes." "Their destination was Jackson but their objective was trouble." "This court may not be regarded as any haven for any such counterfeit citizens from other states deliberately seeking to cause trouble here among its people." What provoked Judge Cox's denunciation was the quiet entry of whites and Negroes into so-called "white" waiting rooms and lunch counters in interstate travel facilities.

Unfortunately, Judge Cox has not been the only judicial appointee foisted on the President by a Democratic state organization—and approved, let it be added, by the American Bar Association—who proved to be an embarrassment and a fierce foe of certain constitutional requirements. Frank Ellis, of the Ellender-Long organization, who was appointed to succeed J. Skelly Wright in New Orleans, hardly waited until the latter got on the train to leave the state before voiding his desegregation orders, which were later only partially reinstated by an appellate court. More recent and dramatic was the performance of Talmadge henchman J. Robert Elliott of Georgia, who unashamedly issued, without a hearing, an injunction against the peaceful protest activities of the Albany movement. Shortly afterwards

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there was administered the rebuke of summary revocation of his order by an Appellate judge, but that has not deterred Judge Elliott from continuing to dispense his own brand of justice.

These are extreme cases. It would be wrong to imply that the average Southern federal judge takes his oath of office with mental reservation or purpose of evasion as to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. But the bulk of the recent appointees give no promise of departing from the pattern of conduct of the Roosevelt-Truman-Eisenhower appointees, whose performance is studied and found wanting in 58 *Lonely Men.*

THE LESSON to be derived from all this is that the federal district courts, by reason of the character and origin of their personnel and the limitations of the lawsuit-by-lawsuit method, are not qualified to continue to preside over so far-reaching a reform as the change in the practices of three thousand different local school boards. This major social problem calls for the functioning of a single national administrative agency equipped with investigative and enforcement powers, very much like those of the Federal Trade Commission or the National Labor Relations Board.

Such an agency could act with speed, flexibility that would enable it to cope with evasion, and a forcefulness that will come from freedom from local roots and pressures. It could devote itself to the singleminded pursuit of compliance with the Constitution. Its orders to "cease and desist" could be enforced by the Federal Courts of Appeal—without the intervention of a district judge—and the authority of the Courts of Appeal to review or revise such orders could be limited to the extremely narrow scope reserved for appeals from administrative agencies.

Such a plan and agency would be, beyond doubt, constitutional: Section Five of the Fourteenth Amendment expressly provides that Congress shall have the power "to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." The "right" to bargain collectively is not endowed by the Constitution; it is merely a statutory right, yet it is enforced by the effective method of administrative action. Why should there not be an administrative remedy for deprivation of such a constitutional right as access to an unsegregated school?

An agency of this nature, being truly national in scope, would be equipped and obliged to investigate, intervene, and act in the many situations at the North, East, and West that have been lumped together under the head of "de facto" segregation. A national body can and should be out gunning for the Northern discriminationist as well as the Southern segregationist. Why should the under-privileged families of Engelwood, N.J., and Malverne, L.I., Los Angeles and Chicago—to name only a few where phases of this same problem have cropped up in various guises—have to chip in from meager resources to pay the cost of expensive and long-drawn-out litigation?

One should not, of course, be under any illusions. Any legislation, let alone effective legislation, to enforce the constitutional rights of American children will not be easy to pass. It will require the development of a seething, burning, massive public demand—a demand that is not yet in sight. Not until our collective conscience is aroused to action will our government respond. But just as each citizen has an obligation to act, to be heard from, so too the President has an obligation to give us leadership. When the American people are properly aroused, no sectional "veto" or filibuster will stand in the way. But, as Professor Peltason says, "until those favoring school integration fight as hard for civil rights as segregationists are fighting against them, Southern schools will remain segregated."

As long as the schools in any area remain segregated, the really basic facts of race relations will remain the same—regardless of whether "white" lavatories at bus terminals are thrown open to all or whether the second secretary of the Upper Volta legation can get a meal on Route 40. These are the surface; the vitals of our difficulty are largely untouched—total segregation in most ex-Confederate areas and economic and residential discrimination throughout the nation.

Voting rights are important, but school segregation is the very heart of the issue. It plays an overwhelming and self-perpetuating role as both the cause and the effect of prejudice. Charles Sumner, great Massachusetts Senator of a century ago, who saw so much, so far ahead of his time, stated the issue over a decade before the Civil War, when he vainly sought to persuade the Massachusetts Supreme Court to desegregate the Boston school system: the worst aspect of segregated schools, he said, is that they tend "to deepen and perpetuate the odious distinction of caste, founded in a deep-rooted prejudice in public opinion."

One of the most challenging statements I ever saw on this subject was the opening of an address by the Rev. Raymond T. Bosler last year on "The Catholic Hour": "We Americans are an impatient people," he said. "We are proud of the fact. We want results, and we want them right now. We are impatient about everything under the sun—except one thing. And about this one thing we are extremely virtuous. We are not only most patient, we are most prudent about it. . . . This is not the way Americans ordinarily approach a problem. This is untypical of America. And when you come right down to it, everything about the race problem is untypical; it doesn't fit into the American picture. And that is why we ought to get rid of it right away. It is time we approached the race problem in the typical American manner—with impatience, with a determination to get results, immediate results."

What is holding us back?

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Behind Australia's School Strike

DESMOND O'GRADY

THIS YEAR'S Catholic Press Association conference in Sydney heard an address on public relations, a subject which would not have been listed a few years ago, when the Church in Australia was heedless of public opinion and didn't care who knew it. The older, embattled outlook of the Church in Australia, which was undoubtedly influenced by an uncongenial environment, fostered inflexible responses to public issues. The Catholic approach to most problems became tough, uniform, and unsubtle. The schools question is a prime example.

For eighty years Catholics had borne the whole cost of their own system while paying taxes to support the state schools, and for eighty years they had complained of the injustice of it. A Catholic school was never opened without a speech on this unfair burden. Years went by without redress, and because the speeches sounded like a broken record, people stopped listening. Someone finally proposed that it was time to make direct requests for aid to Catholic schools. The problem was not magically solved once this advice was heeded. It is a continuing one and was brought dramatically to the nation's attention in the recent Goulburn Catholic schools' "strike."

The parents of the Catholic students in Goulburn, a town seventy miles south of Sydney and the center of a prosperous sheep district, decided to close their schools when the State Education Department threatened to deregister Our Lady of Mercy Preparatory School unless additions were made to its toilet block. The pretext was trivial but the principle was basic. A six-week "strike" was called by Catholic parents. Catholic students began to register at state schools, but after a week the Catholic schools reopened. Ten per cent of those who had enrolled at state schools remained there.

One effect of the strike was to reveal the leanings of individuals and the press. The *Sydney Morning Herald,* Australia's senior newspaper, commented, for example, that the answer to the problem and the lesson to be learned was, "the obvious need for reduction and rationalizing of the great complex of Roman Catholic schools. It is by such means that the Church should be expected to ease the burden on Roman Catholic parents." Some claimed that the strike did nothing but aggravate sectarian feeling. Yet it may have made many aware of the Catholic schools' difficulties as a type of those facing all Australian schools in their struggle to educate greatly increased numbers on inadequate financial allocations. Although there was suspicion of plotting, the final action of the Goulburn strike was decided in an impromptu fashion. It reflected impatience with the Catholic politicians who in fact make a majority in the New South Wales Labor government. The Church in New South Wales maintains friendly relations with the government, but obtains little in return. The situation is different in some other states, where Catholics, although not in power, have crucial political influence.

In Queensland, for instance, there is a form of state aid. The government gives a subsidy of £18 yearly for each pupil in private secondary schools. In the Australian Capital Territory, all denominations are entitled to interest-free loans for building schools. It is noteworthy that the A.C.T. is administered by the Federal Government, which also, as the national taxing authority, allows a £100 rebate on educational expenses without discrimination between state and private schools. Still the best hope for achieving justice in the schools' question may be to make it a Commonwealth rather than a State concern. Only the Commonwealth can raise the money needed to meet the general educational crisis, and it has already recognized certain forms of state aid in both territories it administers, the A.C.T. and the Northern Territory.

THE POSITIVE result of the strike has been a renewed determination on the part of many Catholics to obtain concrete political results. Some of the secular papers have acknowledged the validity of Catholic claims, and Gallup Poll results show a slight majority in favor of aid. The point that the strikers wanted to make, was that the question of aid is not between the Church and the State, but between the State and the parents.

The Catholic case is grievously weakened by the opposition of many Protestant churchmen to aid. The "higher" one goes in the Church of England, the more support there is for aid. The fundamentalist and evangelical churches, however, are bitterly opposed to it. After the Goulburn strike, a prominent clergyman from Sydney remarked, "If Roman Catholics can win Australia by normal means, I don't object, but I shan't hand it to them on a plate."

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In this context one of the most hopeful developments is that Catholic and Anglican Archbishops of Western Australia have jointly requested aid for non-state schools from the Western Australian government. Their request has been ignored so far, but their cooperation is surely the right approach. It is fatal to a solution of the question to argue in terms of aid for Catholic schools rather than for religious or private schools in general.

Australian Catholics are unfortunate in that they are a big enough minority to be regarded as a threat by the rest of the community. So it will be a major task to convince other Australians of their claims; but the united approach in Western Australia and attempts at presenting the Catholic case in more precise terms are pointers to a better relationship between the Church and Australian society.

The Church's previously beleaguered attitude was in some ways a more assured one, for it was a sizable garrison which faced an alien world. At present, however, the Catholic body no longer reveals a united front. There can no longer be a pretense of a "Catholic line" on a multitude of questions, because Catholics openly and hotly dispute them. This is most patent in the political sphere.

Traditionally, Catholics have supported the Labor Party in Federal politics. As they are also somewhat more than a fifth of the population, and as the Labor Party usually commands half the vote, it is clear just how strong Catholic influence has been. Yet this customary alliance has undergone a dramatic change since 1954. Immediately after the second world war the Communists gained vital positions in Australia's powerful unions, and the groups which fought them most effectively were organized by a prominent Catholic, Mr. B. A. Santamaria. The Labor Party welcomed the help of these groups until, in 1954, the Labor leader, Dr. Evatt, dramatically charged Mr. Santamaria and his "groupers" with attempting to seize control of the Labor movement. This split the Australian Labor Party, and a new party, the Democratic Labor Party was formed. Some Catholics remained in the A.L.P., and while the D.L.P. had some non-Catholic members, the majority were Catholic.

The effects of this affair on national politics are clear. The Menzies, Liberal-Country Party coalition government has had a record thirteen years in office, while the D.L.P. remains a small, splinter group which provides a constant incentive for the A.L.P. to put its house in order. But the effects of the affair on Australian Catholicism are of more immediate interest; they have certainly been more far-reaching. Catholics deplored Mr. Santamaria's activities not because of their effect on the Labor Party, but because they were confused with Catholic Action.

The controversy over the affair in Catholic circles was bitter and sustained. Not only was the Labor Party split by what was known as "the Movement," but the hierarchy and even families were just as sharply divided. Lay initiative, politics and morals, the jurisdiction of bishops, action of Catholics and Catholic Action were debated up and down the land, and Rome was actually asked for a ruling. Everyone was a little spent from the wrangling. The result has been that only a foolhardy man would now maintain that there was one Catholic voice in the arena of political controversy.

ONE OF the most encouraging signs here in post-war years has been the interest Catholics have taken in university affairs. In retrospect their vigorous participation in student life might be the most remarkable feature of the universities in the fifties. Previously, Catholics, because of their origins and attitudes and the cost of their education system, were under-represented in higher education, but increasing affluence and an extended scholarship system brought more to the university in post-war years. There is no longer a general presumption that "Catholic" and "intellectual" are mutually exclusive terms.

Catholics are taking too much part in Australian cultural life for anyone to make that mistake. Of the eight leading quarterly reviews, two are Catholic and another is edited by a Catholic. One, "Prospect," was founded in 1958 by Catholics at Melbourne University. "Twentieth Century," which is run by Melbourne Jesuits, began immediately after the second world war, while "Quadrant," published since 1957 by the Association for Cultural Freedom, has as editor, James McAuley, a convert and a distinguished poet. But there are still many who reach for their guns every time they hear the word "culture." One has only to read reviews in the Catholic press to realize how alienated many Catholics still are. Yet while some of the preoccupations of Australian Catholics are persistently petty, the Church as a whole shows encouraging signs of realizing its vocation.

Happily, the Church has shown increasing maturity in facing her own particular tasks, as in adopting an ecumenical approach to Protestant groups. Cardinal Gilroy of Sydney sent a message, lately, of greetings to the first Synod of the Church of England in Australia. In Canberra, Archbishop Eris O'Brien accepted an invitation from the retired Church of England Bishop, Dr. Burgmann, to address an interfaith audience. In Brisbane, the Anglican Dean was among the official party when Archbishop Duhig opened the new Holy Spirit Home for the Aged. And in Melbourne, a Jesuit, Father Stormon, spoke at a luncheon in St. Paul's Anglican Cathedral on the subject, "Whither Reunion?" In this, as in other matters, the Church in Australia has moved a long way from its former defensive position; but it still has a long way to go.

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THE SCREEN

A World They Never Made

IF THIS year's imports are any test, it's beginning to look as if Great Britain's New Wavers, formerly known as the Angry Young Men, are going to survive the original French New Wavers, whose protests against the existing order grow more pointless with each new movie. After the British movie-makers stated their case in films like "Look Back in Anger," "The Entertainer" and "Saturday Night and Sunday Morning," they added compassion to their anger. Producer-director Tony Richardson's "A Taste of Honey," shown here this spring, hit a brilliant new high in this cycle.

Now two more British films are on our screens, both indicating departure from the Anger School. Beautifully photographed in black and white, "A Kind of Loving" tells the story of young Vic, who works as a draftsman in a factory. Vic lives with his middle-class family until he has an affair with a girl, who traps him into marriage when she announces she is pregnant. The young couple live with the bride's mother, a mean-spirited, self-centered woman, who almost succeeds in breaking up the marriage after Vic's wife has a miscarriage.

Much of this is pretty grim stuff, showing lower middle-class mores at their worst, but the film has a good script by Willis Hall and Keith Waterhouse (from the novel by Stan Barstow). Its thoughtful direction by John Schlesinger lends a warmth and humor to temper its realism, in all making the picture quite appealing. The acting is excellent throughout—Alan Bates as Vic, June Ritchie as his rather shallow wife, and Thora Hird as her possessive mother.

"A Kind of Loving" is frank, but it is never vulgar or sensational. Its message of responsibility comes through without preaching. The scene with Vic and the girl, after an episode of pre-marital sex is a sharp portrait of disillusionment. Vic's realization that the affair is really over for him is done with bitter realism, as are the scenes showing the colorless civil wedding, the dreary honeymoon and the constant bickering in the mother-in-law's house—culminating in Vic's getting drunk, running away and finally seeking consolation from his own family. But his elders are wiser than he; and talks with his sister, mother, and especially his father help to clear Vic's understanding of love and responsibility. Thus, "A Kind of Loving" ends on a compromise, up-beat note, just right for its story and theme.

IF "THE LONELINESS of the Long Distance Runner" doesn't end on the up-beat, at least it states well what eighteen-year-old Colin Smith is protesting about and what a different life he might have led under other circumstances. Once again producer-director Tony Rich-

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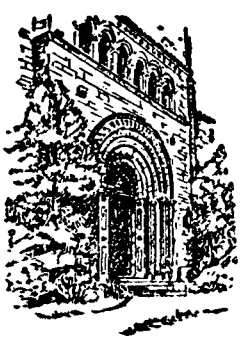

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THE REGISTRAR

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ardson, the leading film exponent of the Angry School, uses some first-rate cinema to tell a thoughtfully-disturbing story. His leading character this time, however, as created by Alan Sillitoe who wrote the original story, is a bright, imaginative bad boy, a potential poet with a sense of humor and a flair for mockery.

Colin Smith (expertly played by newcomer Tom Courtenay) is sent to the Ruxton Borstal after robbing a bakery. The Governor of this reformatory, portrayed by Michael Redgrave as the very epitome of stuffy Establishment and powerful will, favors a sound body for the boys over a sound mind. Colin, although he has contempt for the Governor and everyone else in authority at the Borstal—and for Establishment everywhere—decides to play along. He runs well, soon becomes the favorite, and is allowed outside the fenced-in grounds to practice long-distance runs. During the course of these lonely runs, as he sees the sun through the trees or sprints along in the morning gloom, he remembers the Midland slums from which he came, his quarreling parents, his fun-loving friend (James Bolan), his girl (Topsy Jane), and others from his past.

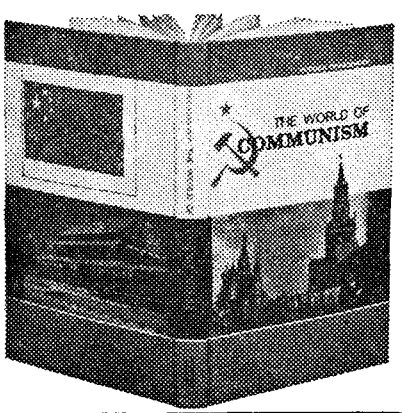
A grim background it is—with Colin's dying father, his hard-working mother, and her lover, who doesn't get along with the boy. The flashbacks are introduced brilliantly and without the conventional fadeouts preparing the viewer in advance. The past and present are effectively mixed, so that they become one. Today's lonely, clever, running Colin is the stealing, lying authority-hating Colin of yesterday. How he settles accounts with the Establishment and retains his own idea of dignity even though sacrificing his physical well-being, makes for fascinating movie material. Colin, with all his imagination and resources, has to use all his strength to fight a cloying authority. Yet at the end, the lonely runner has his self-respect. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

THE STAGE

The Redcoats Are Winning

BY NOW the season should have begun and I should be writing about a remarkable though not unheard of event: the simultaneous appearance of two entirely different productions of the same play. But there have been delays; Brecht's "Man is Man," or "A Man's a Man" in the other version, is now going to open too late for my deadline, and there has been nothing else so far. So I am going to make use of the freedom of the weekly critic and do an informal book review.

As a matter of fact the book I want to discuss has considerable relevance to the forthcoming season. Entitled *The Angry Theatre* (Hill and Wang, $5), it is a study of new British drama by a young English critic



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named John Russell Taylor. Mr. Taylor's thesis is that since May of 1956, when John Osborne's "Look Back in Anger" opened in London, the theater in Britain has been experiencing a renaissance. This doesn't come as news to us, since we have seen our stages increasingly filled, and sometimes animated, by British imports, to the point where a notable cultural reversal is about to take place: this year we are likely to be sent more musicals and revues from London than we send there.

But what is rather astonishing, even to one who has seen all the British plays that have come here and read a great many more, is the sheer volume of at least interesting work that is being done in England compared to what is happening here. We have seen or known about Osborne, Behan, Shelagh Delaney, Pinter, N. F. Simpson, Arnold Wesker, John Mortimer and John Arden. But what about Alun Owen, Ann Jellicoe, Henry Livings, David Campton, Clive Exton and half a dozen more who, if Mr. Taylor is to be trusted, are all new, inventive, refusers of concessions and delvers, to one depth or another, into the unknown? It amounts to our sending skinny little Edward Albee and frail Jack Richardson against a pro football team.

I'm afraid, though, that Taylor isn't the most reliable guide to his subject, which in fact one comes to suspect him of having somewhat inflated. For one thing, he is a notably inept writer, possessor of a primitive syntax, an unerring instinct for redundancy and the inability even to stumble upon *le mot juste*. Much worse, his critical apparatus seems greatly inadequate to its material: he wields a few basic notions of "construction," "characterization," "theatrical effects," "dramatic means" and the like, and has some serviceable honorifics such as "force," "élan," "richness," etc. But his book is much more a compendium of information and opinions than a true act of criticism.

Still, I don't want to complain too much and have almost finished doing it. I think Taylor rates Pinter too high and Simpson too low, doesn't scratch the surface of Arden (who may be the best of them all and whose uncommonly arresting play, "Serjeant Musgrave's Dance," we may see here this season) and in general is unable to get past the naturalism—anti-naturalism dichotomy in his treatment of what is really new in contemporary drama, British or otherwise.

But I'm grateful to him for all that information, for the sketchy but useful social background he supplies, for his tone of enthusiasm and involvement and for his refusal to try to force all the playwrights he discusses into a single basket or even three or four. Most of all I'm grateful for the evidence, shaky as some of it is, his book provides of new life in the mother country.

Taylor doesn't have too much to say about how that *vita nuova* arose or what is sustaining it. Unlike here, television in England seems to be a continuing source of true and original drama. And the fact that almost all the new dramatists are from the working or lower middle classes may account for the superior vitality and restlessness of their plays compared to the *pax Rattiganus* that prevailed for so many proper and somnolent years over the post-Shavian West End. But whatever the roots, the flowers are there to see; some of us on this side would now like to know whether, along with slips, and cuttings and whole blooms, a green thumb is exportable.

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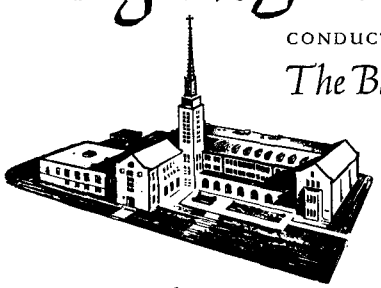
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Pitfalls in the Search for Identity

Strike the Father Dead. By John Wain. St. Martin's Press. $4.95.

by Samuel Hynes

TEN YEARS or so ago, when John Wain first began to be mentioned in the literary news from London, it was as an example of a new movement, the Angry Young Men, or as half of what seemed to be a writing corporation called Amis and Wain. As a result, he got a great deal of publicity early in his career. But, as Trollope wrote and Wain has quoted, it is only to the very unfortunate that success comes early. Wain's misfortune was to have a public identity before he had a style, and to be associated with a collective attitude before he had established in his work what his personal attitudes were. All literary movements misrepresent the values of their members, and in the case of a movement as spurious as the Angries, the distortion was bound to be considerable.

But by now the public relations men have dispersed, the corporation has been dissolved, and Wain has published his fifth novel; so we can drop the catch phrases, and look at the work. We will see at once that though Wain has his own talents and weaknesses, he has much in common with other novelists of his generation in England. He is clearly a post-war writer, in the way that Amis and John Braine and Alan Sillitoe and David Storey are post-war. His England is the Welfare State, with all its rootless anonymity, its drabness and vulgarity, its social fluidity.

Like the others he is interested in what happens to individuals in a sys-

Cante Hondo

For Ernest Hemingway
Requiescat in Pace

Paseo

Into the light the thousand lights parade in gold, crimson, silver.
Trumpets and flutes shriek with animal alarm and animal terror.
Colors swirl in the cockpit of sun and shade.
Virgin, keep this circle of light and dark.

Toque Cuadrillas

Standing on the earth among his friends a man looks at his death;
Death in the shape of an engine, swift, black, companionable.
Darkness wheels and turns in the fierce veronicas of light.

Toque Banderillas

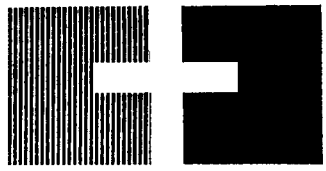
With drumming and piping and leaping the dance goes on.
See death betray his darkness with bright papers and blood.
See how death is wounded like the living.

Toque de Muerte

Behold a man alone now with his magnificent weary death.
In the shade and in the sun they dance.
The prisms of their wounds glitter in the rainbow light.
A man and his death join at the bursting fanfare of the last cornada.

It is finished, courage has ended, fear has ended, death has ended.
Darkness summoned and welcomed has quit the final wound.
Virgin, keep this circle of light and dark.

JAMES L. FOY



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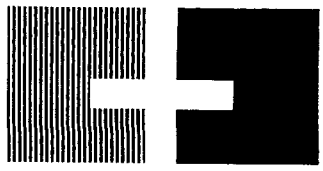

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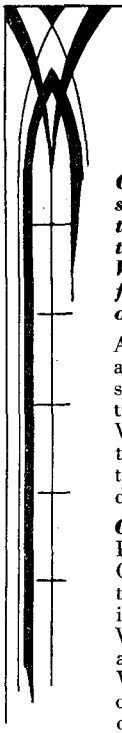
tem which seems to deny individuality as a matter of social principle. Like the others, he is at home in the gray world of the provincial towns, in a way which no previous English novelist except Arnold Bennett has been. And like the others he sees the Establishment, and its capital, London, from the outside, as the Enemy Camp. (Perhaps it is because these novelists have an outsider's view of their own country that they seem so accessible to American readers—this, after all, is the way we have always felt about English society.)

Strike the Father Dead, Wain's newest novel, is not his best, but it is typical of what he does well, and of what he does badly. The time of the novel is the years during and just after the last war; the scene moves between a provincial university town and the darker, black-market-and-jazz side of London (with a side trip to Paris). The principal character, Jeremy Coleman, is a jazz pianist, an adolescent when we first see him, in revolt against his father, a Professor of Classics, and the values which his father represents. We follow Jeremy as he leaves his father, enters London's Bohemia, and finally finds a substitute father in an American Negro jazz musician.

This sketch of the action of the novel should be enough to show how paradigmatic the whole thing is. Jeremy rejects a complex including the provinces, a maiden aunt, a tradition-minded father, the classics, and English patriotism, and chooses instead jazz, draft evasion, Bohemianism, and a Negro. Clearly the past he is denying is a version of the traditional English past, and the world which he elects to enter is a version of the English present.

The past is rigid, repressive, and obsolete; the present is creative, international and free. Since we are all, presumably, in favor of creativity and freedom, and opposed to repression, we must take Jeremy's career to be a progress, and the ending of the novel to be a happy one. And if we have any doubts as to what it's all about, Jeremy tells us: "All I could do was to get away from the things that had influenced me, as I had already got away from my father. It was all part of the search



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or an identity and a way of life."

Anyone familiar with the jargon of modern criticism will recognize some old friends in that quotation: the Flight from the Past, the Search for Identity, the Quest for a Father—these are commonplace phrases for commonplace modern themes. Now obviously there is nothing wrong in writing a novel with familiar themes, but there is a danger, when you deal in commonplaces, of slipping out of reality into convention, and this Wain has unfortunately done. Jeremy's father, for example, has literary, not human ancestors, and is as conventional as the Cruel Stepmother. So is Percy, the simple-warm-hearted Negro—he's not Uncle Tom, but he's just as unconvincing. Wain's concern to demonstrate the Search for Identity has led him to write a book with real themes and unreal characters.

This is not to say that there are not many excellent things in the novel. The places are good—the Soho clubs, the rock-and-roll dance halls, the pubs; and the atmosphere is wonderfully realized—that odd impermanent dreariness that was London after the war is as real as soot and bomb sites. And the ideas with which Wain is dealing are serious, important ideas. But still the words that one must use to describe his achievement are not words that a novelist will be pleased with. His book is a serious, intelligent, conscientious piece of work, but that is not quite enough to make it a good novel.

The Weary Wild Men

Big Sur. By Jack Kerouac. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $4.50.

by Richard M. Ohmann

KEROUAC is apparently with us for good, like the seasons, income taxes, and the seven-year locusts. And, really, there is no cause for alarm in the publication every year of a new novel or two by Kerouac, any more than in the publication of five hundred murder mysteries a year. Both mysteries and the "Duluoz Legend" (as Kerouac now calls his books) are easily read and quick-

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ly forgotten, and, along the way, are capable of providing a mild form of pleasure to those who like that sort of thing. In *Big Sur,* Duluoz Kerouac spends some weeks alone in a rustic cabin, and feels happy; his favorite cat dies, and he feels sad; he binges wildly, and loses his peace of mind he finally escapes into sleep, and wakes restored—all rather like the rest of us, but a little more frenetic and in a more exotic setting. Think of the book as a soothing travelogue of the emotions for those who are bored with their own anxieties and ecstasies, and it passes muster.

But Kerouac thinks of it as part of "one enormous comedy," a "vast book like Proust's except that my remembrances are written on the run instead of afterwards in a sick bed." Actually, there is also a difference in quality between Kerouac and Proust. For one thing *Big Sur* is unstructured, unfiltered, indiscriminate, and unanalyzed, without the precision and shapeliness of art. So much we would have expected, after *On the Road, The Dharma Bums,* and the rest. But other un-Proustlike things happen in *Big Sur.* The thoughts and talk which Kerouac faithfully records are often banal without the redemption of Proustian mystery; his emotions—self-pity high among them—lack even the hardness and integrity of sensibility that graced *On the Road,* let alone *Swann's Way.* His revelations too often sound like this: "everything of my life seems beautiful again . . . it's just amazing how inside our own souls we can lift out so much strength I think it would be enough strength to move mountains at that. . . ." His narrator's voice is uncertain to the point of absurdity: "And worst of all is the bridge! [tea-partyish] I go ambling seaward along the path by the creek [off-hand, manly] and see this awful thin white line of bridge [breathlessly dumb-blonde-ish] a thousand un-bridgeable sighs of height [poetically overblown—and confused] above the little woods I'm walking in, you just can't believe it [the blonde again], and to make things heart-thumpingly horrible [fruity] . . . there's the booming surf coming at you [manly again] . . . " etc., etc. This is exceedingly bad prose. More-

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over, Kerouac oddly overuses words like "gooky," "goopy," "wonderful," "fantastic," "tremendous," and, especially, "marvelous" (fourteen times in seventy pages) to carry the burden of feeling. Who will listen to the thoughts of such a writer about the oneness of all things?

Well, well; I suppose that most of Kerouac's readers have been attracted by a way of life, not a style or form. But even the vigor, freshness, and intensity which animated his earlier work, the feverish thirst for experience, the novelty and surprise, have dwindled sadly (as Kerouac himself seems to realize). The great gentleness and love have become more self-conscious, less innocent. The wild men of San Francisco seem wearier—even Moriarty/Pomeray, so outrageously fine in *On the Road*, is a blurred shadow in *Big Sur*.

Yet when all this is ungraciously said, it is important to acknowledge that Kerouac still earns his keep. He is funny, in a wry, self-deprecatory way. He makes a scene live. And, more than most writers, he traps on a page the astonishing truth that time does pass, things do change, and the present dances like a landscape in a kaleidoscope for anyone who cares to look.

A Rich Period

The Medieval World: Europe 1100-1350. By Friedrich Heer. Translated by Janet Sondheimer. World. $7.50.

by Anne Fremantle

IN AN engagingly brief and frank preface, Dr. Heer, professor of the history of ideas at the University of Vienna, denies the possibility, for "a European living in Central Europe," of taking an objective view. Perhaps it would be possible for an Englishman, he muses, but not for himself. "History is the present, and the present is history." So it is not unexpected to find him dubbing the Papacy—or rather what he calls the "Roman Catholic Church"—"the establishment," and finding precursors for Hitler, Goering and Goebbels in the Thirteenth Century inquisitor, Conrad of Marburg, and his

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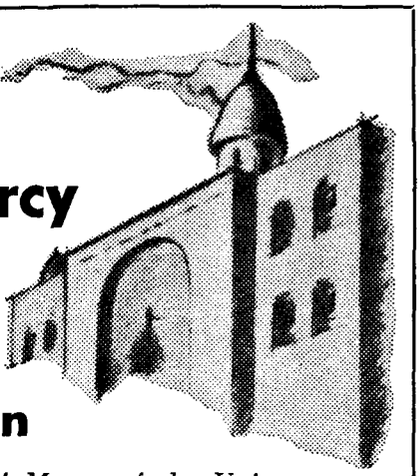

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aides, Conrad Dorso and one-eyed John.

Dr. Heer's main thesis is that between the Twelfth and Fourteenth Centuries Europe changed from an open society to a closed, and he purposes to show how this tremendous change, beside which all other historical changes are negligible, came about. For by the end of the Fourteenth Century "all the political, social, intellectual and religious questions which were to be of lasting significance in European history were already present in basic form. In all the modern history of Europe . . . there was no crisis, no war, no catastrophe, no calamity which was not in some way prefigured in the happenings of that period of medieval Europe which saw the conflict and overthrow of Empire and Papacy, the emergence of an 'East' and 'West' within the confines of Europe itself, the rise of nation states and of exclusive social groupings within the nations."

Dr. Heer nowhere gives his authority for his sometimes very sweeping statements. Did the "Roman Church" veto the translation of the Gospels and other texts into the vernacular *before* the Synod of Toulouse in 1229? What about such translations as that by the Venerable Bede? Did St. Bernard really "rule" popes, kings, prelates, nobles and common folk? Is it correct to describe the Emperor John V and his followers as "converts to Roman Catholicism"? What were the "secret fraternities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which played their part in determining the course of the first and second World Wars"? Was Constantinople the Virgin's city par excellence? Surely Dr. Heer is thinking of Ephesus? or Chartres? Is the Grail, at its deepest level, a mother-symbol, paired, Dr. Heer insists, with the phallic Holy Lance?

The fact that Dr. Heer raises these questions without always providing answers does not prevent his book from being a most lively, exciting and readable account of the Twelfth Century renaissance. His descriptions of inter-cultural activities are particularly masterful; he conveys the marvelous vitality that informed

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such towns as Toledo, or the court of Genghis Khan or that of Eleanore of Aquitaine.

Dr. Heer writes at length on the Bogomil and Cathar heresies and on the destruction of the Albigensian culture by the onslaught from the North, but he does not quote any specifically Albigensian poets or writers, nor any Bogomil thinkers. What were the manifestations of this culture? And since he maintains that neo-Catharism was being preached in Toulouse during World War II and brought Simone Weil on pilgrimage there, surely there must be documents extant from which quotations would be welcome.

But if Dr. Heer is to be questioned on his details, in his main theses he is admirable: "medieval civilization is to be understood as a coexistence of highly improbable opposites, the bringing together of a number of elements greatly varying in age and ideological origin." In expounding the medieval romances that gave expression, as in a tapestry, to the intertwining motifs, he is daring, imaginative and often wholly convincing. As an introduction to the Minnesinger, the jongleur and the goliardey, to Marie de France and the *lais*, to the entire sense of life of the period, his study is to be recommended highly.

Despair and Fatigue

The Golden Notebook. By Doris Lessing. Simon & Schuster. $5.95.

by Nora Magid

ANNA WULF, the focus of this fifth book by Doris Lessing to be published here, is a lapsed novelist, a victim of social and personal dislocation. Living off the proceeds of her one best-seller—as a Communist she feels guilty about income she considers unearned—she secretly maintains four notebooks: "a black notebook which is to do with Anna Wulf the writer; a red notebook, concerned with politics; a yellow notebook in which I make stories out of my experience; and a blue notebook which tries to be a diary."

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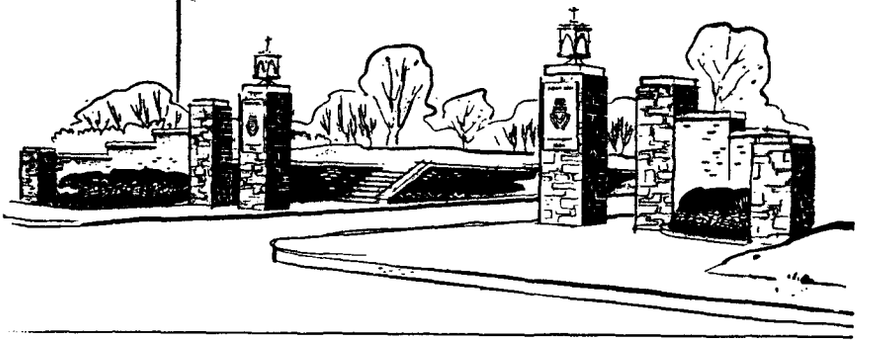

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ders from endless notations on the Bomb, the Boom and over-population, to stream-of-consciousness ramblings, to a running series of stories in which she transmutes her experiences into fiction (and in which the same characters frequently reappear under different names). When, after reaching the brink of dissolution she is finally able to come to terms with her life, she invests in a fifth notebook, a golden one which, representing unification, will presumably tell the rest of the story.

Anna's writer's block, coped with via analysis and the notebooks, seems to be based on the conscious premise that it is "irresponsible to spread disgust. Or anarchy. Or a feeling of confusion." This idea almost literally echoes Miss Lessing's repudiation in *Declaration* (1957) of Sartre, Camus and Beckett for "their tired pity for human beings" and their "pleasurable luxury of despair." "Yet I am incapable," her heroine says, "of writing the only kind of novel which interests me: a book powered with an intellectual or moral passion strong enough to create order, to create a new way of looking at life. It is because I am too diffused."

Her diagnosis is applicable to the book itself. Massive, sprawling, shapeless, it suffers from over-plotting and over-ambition. Miss Lessing, like her heroine, apparently sees Communism as the only possible commitment. Yet she is engulfed in nostalgia for the pre-Stalinist past, and she is almost as critical of the Party and Marxism as she is of capitalism.

She sees America in lamentable clichés. The Americans (mainly men with whom Anna sleeps) all say baby and doll and gee, rising in moments of ecstasy to boy oh boy. They eat huge steaks and guzzle coca-cola; they exhibit huge teeth in disarmingly healthy smiles, and are all strenuously on the make. They are all either one-time victims of Senator Joseph McCarthy or supporters of him.

Anna, who is extraordinarily patronizing, understands "that glass wall certain kinds of Americans live behind, I understand it too well—don't touch me, for God's sake, don't touch me because I'm afraid of feel-

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ing." But she envies them their adroit self-parodying.

It is difficult to equate this work with Miss Lessing's manifesto—that art must serve not only to prevent evil, but to strengthen a vision of the good. *The Golden Notebook* seems to embody more despair and more fatigue than all the existentialists put together. Everything, except survival itself, is empty. Men are damned whatever they do. The picture of Britain is dreary, that of America totally absurd.

And yet the book has its interest. Irritating, unwieldy, inconsistent, it nevertheless reveals intelligence at work, and a point of view. Those aren't inconsiderable virtues at today's prices.

REVIEWERS

Samuel Hynes is a member of the faculty at Swarthmore.

Richard M. Ohmann teaches in the English Department at Wesleyan University.

Anne Fremantle is a well-known writer, lecturer and critic.

Nora Magid is a member of the staff of *The Reporter*.

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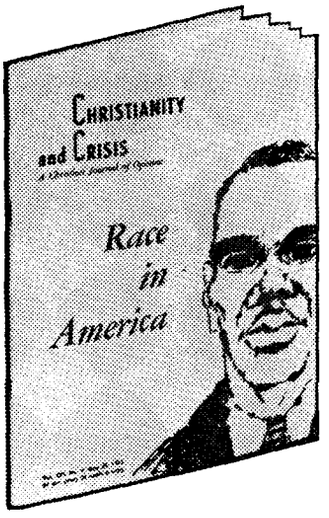

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